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[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[782] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
796] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
[994] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
[506] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The
796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
[495] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

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*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex 576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [303] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

627 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out- 535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [272] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [324] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [334] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Čunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartaš.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Pača-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 539 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

/350 cont./

making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pretense of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word tatai or mamai, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate,

1. These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "San Xeronimištan čuta, San Mikelištan čuta, San Filipištan čuta, Antonio tatalštan

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*796 539 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakʷal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo	
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather	
aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki			
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for			
kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakʷal'a				
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock				
nasimiento	taki.						
birth	for						

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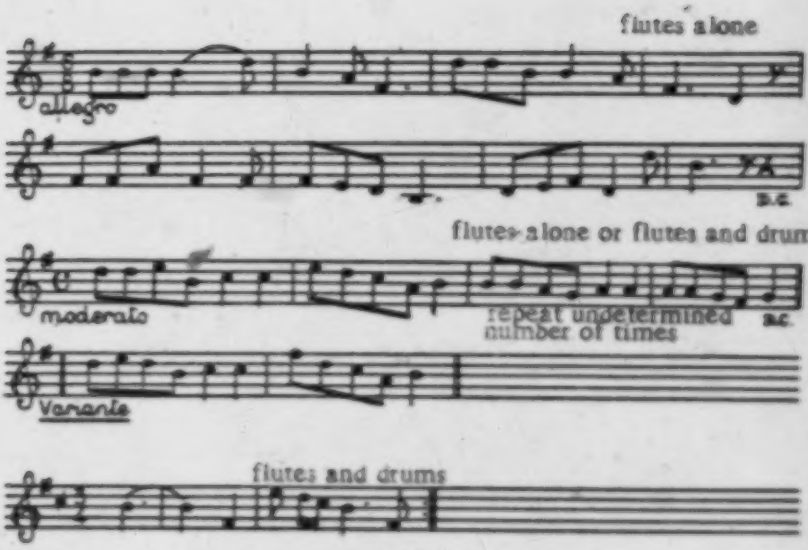

Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

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*708 *716 [590] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [593] [594] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*708 *716 262 594 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*708 *716 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[594] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

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house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

/386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Chipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Chipaya customarily offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

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These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

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*539 191 824 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [48] 15. Note a Hispánicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [50] "father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 537 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Klipe)

(See p. 186 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [53] by all the population of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[p. 20 omitted in pagination.]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjatsuñi [q'uñetsi, from Aymará q'uñu, "lake", and Uru ñetsi, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the salt, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymárans] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjaskas* [fiesta, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and then encountered the Aymára.

Before *Cunuk-pata* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *tupus* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wirasocha*, "sir," or *kawai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kurkura*, Venus *kaak-kolo* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *kata-tikatai* (from *kita* "road"?) and another constellation *tuncutuncu*; a comet is called *mallala* (from the Aymará).

* Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *uñi*, "pure." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *ñ* is lacking in Aymará.